2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
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weather causes anxiety about the crops; for famine is the greatest social 241
calamity they can imagine and is a very real menace. I have heard people 731
speak of the last great famine that swept the country, some forty years ago, with a poignancy that made one realize how deeply dread of famine is stamped into the native's outlook on life. 'It is our black man's thing this (*ti gbansabləg yɛl n-a-de*)', they say, 'from the days of our fathers and forefathers'—or, as we might put it, it is a law of nature for the black man. 'The white man has saved us. If there is hunger now we can buy grain from Mampurugu or Kusaa.' Sombrely they describe how in times [261] of famine people ate grass and weeds fit only for animals, and died on the footpaths. Men deserted wife and child to seek sustenance among distant relatives who had a little food. They took their own children to [567] sell into slavery among the Mamprusi for food. The social order broke down completely.

Sufficient crops of the staple cereals mean survival, good crops mean 796
joy to the Tallensi. They show it in the Harvest Festival that marks the 535
end of the farming year. If the harvest is poor, they say, people attend the dances perfunctorily and dance without enthusiasm. But in a good year, as I saw in 1936, no one can be held back from the dances. Young mothers steal out to them with their babes in their arms, sedate elders fling themselves into the rout with the zest and energy of striplings. There is a general feeling of elation. 'Our bodies are full of strength (*ti nɛŋ kpɛŋya*)', is how the natives describe it.

A successful farming year not only provides for the satisfaction of the 241
fundamental physical needs of existence; it gives security to the social 182
order. There is ample evidence of this in the busy and cheerful atmosphere of the market-places, and, more significantly, in the spate of ceremonial activities that follows on a satisfactory harvest; for all Tale ceremonial activities express and fortify relationships of amity and interdependence. For the individual the physical well-being of himself and his dependants—sufficiency of food, good health, and the increase of offspring—is a sign that all is well with the social order. The ritual symbols in which the forces that shape Tale social organization and keep it on a steady course are objectified and made emotionally tangible go back to this fact of native experience. The stereotyped formula with [782] which a prayer offered at any shrine is usually concluded epitomizes this: 'Grant that fields be farmed (fruitfully), that live-stock breed, that offspring be born, that (undisturbed) sleep be slept (*Kye ka kuo kɔ, ka guul guul, ka dɔɣam dɔɣa, ka guom gbis*).'

Productive Efficiency and the Bounds set by Nature

Now what does the achievement of sufficiency of food and general 731
physical well-being depend upon? It is quite clear, from the way the 241
natives carry on their agricultural activities and the way they think and talk about them that, other things being equal, they consider skill and industry to be the main factors of efficiency. But variations in efficiency between a *pukpaa*, a slothful farmer, and a proper *kpa'at*, an industrious hoe-man, mean only a difference in their respective standards of consumption. One has rather less food and other goods than the other.

4: Fortes and Fortes E-5 (1934-1936) 1936
FE11 Tallensi FE11

221 262 A striking correlation emerges from the above synopsis of the cycle of food economy. It will be seen that domestic food-supplies are at their lowest at the time—recognized as such by the natives—of the most strenuous output of physical labour, i.e. in May–June, and highest when there is least agricultural work. In other words, it would seem that food consumption is inversely correlated with food requirements, if we may assume that more food is needed to sustain the arduous agricultural labour of the rainy season than the leisure months of the dry season. How this affects the working capacity of the natives must be left to the social biologist to determine; it is a type of problem beyond the competence of an ethnographer. The 251 261 Tallensi have both excellent receptacles and adequate techniques for storing all kinds of food. We have seen grain and ground-nuts produced from granaries or storage baskets (*kusɔk*) twelve months after they had been packed, and in perfect condition. Even root crops and legumes, which appear to be more susceptible to damp and weevils, can be stored for a year. Nor, in our estimation, are the Tallensi

443 to bring out more clearly the fluctuations in domestic supplies. The market is a fundamental economic institution in Tale society, but we have space here only for a cursory comment on its function in relation to our main theme. Every kind of raw foodstuff, from grain to wild fruits and many varieties of cooked food can be purchased in the market. A visit to the market shows at once what the state of the domestic larder is; high prices indicate empty granaries, low prices, plentiful domestic supplies. The cooked food offered in the market illustrates the seasonal variation in supplementary diet very well. As soon as Bambara beans or frafra potatoes are lifted they appear, both raw and cooked, in the market. The food most commonly sold in the market is porridge (*sayabo*), the staple cereal food; but other cereal and pulse confections can be bought there, many kinds being especially prepared for sale, and rarely, if ever, cooked for home consumption. Such are *maasa*—fried millet-cake, *guor* and *kamsha*, both made of flour cow-pea. A number of women carry on a regular trade in these luxury foods and thus reap a steady income. Beer is always on sale in the Tale markets, manufactured and sold by a few regular women traders, all Nankansi as far as we know. Only in the markets have we seen intoxicated men; never at ritual gatherings. The market is also the main supplier of tobacco, which most mature men and many old women chew or smoke, but which only a minority are able to grow for themselves, and of kola nuts, imported from Ashanti by foreign traders, and universally chewed as a stimulant by men, women, and even older children. Curdled milk (*bighihir*), a luxury food, is generally obtained there, too. The market represents the point of contact between the basic subsistence economy of the natives and the money economy which exists side by side with it.

4: Fortes and Fortes E-5 (1934-1936) 1936
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improvident or reckless in the utilization of their supplies. The lavish expenditure of live stock and grain prescribed, according to Tale cultural values, for certain ritual and ceremonial occasions merely emphasizes their normal frugality. 'They rebuke you, saying, will you not listen? The time will come when you will wish for cow-peas and there won't be any. Don't you know that hunger is coming? Truly you behave like infants.' These were the words in which an adolescent boy described how the head of a household restrains his children when, at the time the cow-peas are harvested, they snatch handfuls to cook and eat. It is typical of the same attitude that a man should sometimes store part of his ground-nut crop with a friend or relative in order to remove from his household the temptation to fritter it away in unnecessary sporadic eating.

Why then do the Tallensi not preserve their major crop till the rainy season, which they know well enough to be the time of most exacting labour, and live sparingly during the leisure of the dry season? An explanation would require an analysis of the whole of Tale cultural and social life, a task we cannot pursue here. If the correlation observed above is also found with other African peoples, as is not unlikely, it would indicate that a purely physiological or biochemical approach to the study of a native food economy rests upon questionable assumptions. An instinct of self preservation, 'survival value', or a direct correspondence between their biochemical requirements and the system of food economy would presumably have been reflected in a more adequate seasonal organization of the latter. Culturally determined motives seem, however, to be as significant as physiological factors in this regard.[1]

CONVERSION OF THE RAW MATERIALS. We have seen how the raw materials were produced and otherwise brought into the compound by the joint efforts of man, woman, and child. We have studied the fluctuations in the food supply from season to season. We will now

[1] A neat illustration of how cultural and psychological factors affect the food values and economy of the natives is shown in the exceptional care they devote to their tobacco patches. The same care expended on their farms would go a long way towards raising the subsistence level; yet recurrent food shortages have apparently not brought this home to them.

4: Fortes and Fortes E-5 (1934-1936) 1936
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312 natives regard this water as unsuitable for their own consumption, but use it as drinking-water for fowls, for building purposes, and to wash in. There are no special rights of use attached to water-holes, but as a rule each water-hole serves a group of compounds within a radius of not more than 300 yards.

262 A proper meal, according to Tale values, must consist of cooked food; and two meals a day are considered to be necessary for the satisfaction of ordinary needs. When the granaries are full and the women are given grain liberally this standard can be reached, but not in the lean months.

596 The owner of the granary distributes grain periodically to all his wives and those of the householders dependent upon him. He never 261 descends into the granary himself, but appoints a young man, pre- 264 ferably unmarried, to do so, lest the women complain of favouritism. Each woman receives the same measure regardless of her status or of the size of her family. Absolute equality is stressed. Even a young wife without a kitchen receives an equal share. The measure, a small basket or calabash, remains the same throughout the seasons, but the period for which the housewife must make it last varies. When grain is plentiful they receive the measure daily. They will cook food at noon and at sunset, and some will make enough to suffice for the next morning's breakfast. In times of scarcity the same amount of grain has to last two or three days. It is left now to the individual household and family to supplement its food resources as best it can. If a noon meal is cooked at this time, it is made of grain obtained from the ancillary sources we have previously described. Every woman carefully considers her supply, limiting the number of meals so that the family may be assured of the evening meal as regularly as possible.

562 However, shortage of food is not alone responsible for the uncer- 264 tainty of meals. Woman is the pivot of the whole domestic life. She 252 carries on her duties throughout pregnancy till the moment of labour approaches, and again as soon as her period of confinement is over (three or four days). But she is also absolute mistress of her home, and when she refuses to cook her husband cannot compel her to. Nevertheless, a woman will miss cooking a meal only for very good reasons, e.g. when she has been working in the fields late, sowing or harvesting, or beating the floors of the compound, or has been away

5: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937)1938 FE11 Tallensi FE11

aims and desires in their activities and show a sense of purpose and sustained effort. Food, for example, is one of the dominant interests of Tale children. In 1936 the ground-nut crop surpassed all anticipations in some districts. An elder, referring to this in conversation a week or two before the crop was harvested, said: 'We have a surfeit of ground-nuts this year. Look at the children. They don't care about their mothers, they don't care about their fathers.' When food is scarce, he explained, children are for ever running in to their mothers clamouring for something to eat. Now they are out all day, and if they feel hungry they simply pull up a handful of ground-nuts to chew and are satisfied. Food, indeed, remains one of the dominant interests of a Taləŋa from childhood to old age, and with the confluence of other interests and motives has a great effect on Tale economic life. Between the ages of 6 and 14 the interest of boys in food becomes linked up with other interests which have been developing during that period, e.g. in learning to use the bow and arrow, in the comradeship of boys of about the same size, in primary economic and technical processes such as herding and hoeing, in exploring the environs of the settlement, and so forth. Thus, a group of boys out herding cattle often have their bows and arrows with them, and when the cattle are grazing quietly they will search around for cane rats or birds to shoot as titbits.

From a very early age—before they can walk or talk—until adulthood children show a marked and explicit interest in the activities of their parents and older siblings and other adults with whom they come in contact. This is due, in part, to the unity of the social sphere. The children thus begin to adopt the cultural values of their society in infancy, as has been indicated above in our discussion of the social sphere. It may, however, be worth while repeating that children express a keen interest in farming, in livestock, in ceremonies, dances and recreations, and in the conspicuous current activities of their households, in their kinship relationships, and so forth, from the age of 3 upwards, long before they can actively participate in these affairs. But it is shown quite clearly in their attitudes when they are allowed to be present at adult activities, and in their fantasies as revealed in their talk and play, which revolve round the themes of adult social life.

Another group of interests significant for the educational development of Tale children is connected with their habitat. By the age of

7:Lynn G-5 (1932-1936) 1937 FE11 Tallensi FE11

241 keep pace with the growth in intensity of conditions. Farming is regarded as a custom and not as a business, with the result that in crop production and in animal husbandry the maximum is left to Nature. It is custom based upon an unsettled past which underlies the economic system.

Diet.

262 The diet of the people is largely vegetarian; only after religious
264 sacrifice, or upon a very special occasion, is the flesh of cattle, sheep, goats, donkeys or dogs, eaten, subject to certain taboos. Fowls are not eaten by women, or, in some sections, by first-born male children; they are therefore not generally found in a normal diet; guinea-fowls are eaten, however, by all who can afford them. The big meal of the day is consumed in the evening and consists of cereal flour, cowpeas, or Bambarra beans, prepared as a dough or porridge, over which soup made with or without meat, is poured. In the mornings a light meal is taken off anything left-over from the previous evening; similarly at mid-day. When working in the farms at the beginning of the season cereal flour is taken mixed with drinking water. The results of a study of the diet of the Tallensi—a tribe around Tongo in Zuarungu Area—in relation to domestic economy, has been dealt with very fully by Dr. M. and Mrs. S. L. Fortes (9).

Recurrent Food Shortage.

262 It is not surprising that with a precarious rainfall and almost
251 complete dependence upon cereals, crop yields are very variable and recurrent food shortage is a common experience. Soil erosion,
241 and a system of continuous cultivation with inadequate manuring, have reduced the bulk of farmed land to a basic minimum of fertility, except in the immediate vicinity of compounds. The food problem is further complicated by a natural improvidence of the people whereby all crops are consumed in the year they are produced. In good years a surplus of grain is used lavishly in performing religious customs; it is seldom stored against the possibility of a bad season. A rise in the market value of crops at planting time suggests that many people are so improvident as not even to save sufficient seed for planting.

Famine Foods.

222 A reduced supply of cultivated foods in a poor season is eked
261 out by food from wild sources. There is scarcely a single tree in populated areas which has not some value in this respect; and the seed of an indigenous grass, "Gonongo" (Nankani) (Dactyloctenium aegyptium), is laboriously collected and used as grain.

7:Lynn G-5 (1932-1936) 1937 FE11 Tallensi FE11

Nevertheless, although a shortage of cultivated foods does not necessarily mean starvation, it lowers resistance to disease and saps the energy of the people at the end of the dry season when they need strength to prepare their farms; thus setting up a "vicious circle". It is not the shortage of food in itself which is so arresting, however, as the apathy of the people to the shortage. Ancestor worship causes them to dwell in the past and to think insufficiently of the present and the future. This, too, is probably symptomatic of the unsettled conditions when only the past was certain. It will take some time for the people, the older people who control affairs especially, to adjust themselves to the swift developments going on around them. An unfortunate result is that during the period of adjustment, many of the young men are attracted away from the district to work for wages in Ashanti and the Colony, where there is a big demand for unskilled labour in the mines and in handling the cocoa crop. These young men do not as a rule stay away from home for long at a time, and usually return with a little money; but they do not take readily to farming again, and represent a floating population which is the source of considerable concern to their elders.

Economic Awakening.

An adequate food supply alone does not appear to be sufficient incentive for the adoption of better farming methods; and it is unlikely that changes will come until farming ceases to be regarded mainly as a custom, and becomes a business. There are many signs of an economic awakening, fostered by such factors as a growing desire of the people for imported commodities, and an increase in money consciousness; the completion of an all-weather road to the South; the opening of a gold mine at Nangodi; the developing trade in all classes of livestock with Ashanti and the Colony; the new trade in groundnuts from Bawku for the Kumasi market; together with the work of Government Departments in the improvement of human health, the health of livestock, and not least, the scope of the recently introduced Native Administrations. These are some of the factors helping to bring about a change which can be met only by better farming. Government must anticipate agricultural expansion to be in a position to control its development.

The first problem, obviously, is to ensure a sufficiency of food for everyone in every year. Then, when local requirements have been satisfied, it must be shown how a surplus can be disposed of profitably, to satisfy growing demands. Upon this the Department of Agriculture is working in North Mamprusi, and the results of the last four years' work form the basis of this bulletin.